

ERT

United States Department of State



Washington, D.C. 20520

RELEASED IN FULL

CONFIDENTIAL

June 2, 1987

TALKING POINTS ON PRESIDENT'S BRANDENBURG GATE SPEECH
(JUNE 1 DRAFT)

- However, we feel that the speech is overly anecdotal and not sufficiently oriented towards policy on East-West relations.
- We are particularly concerned with the way the speech ends. It closes with a series of sentimental cliches and leaves the reader with little sense of direction. It fails to build on the concept of a forward-looking Presidential initiative to improve the situation in Berlin.
- The draft includes too many German phrases, which are too complex. These phrases are an unnecessary burden. Even short statements pronounced properly tend to confuse German crowds when the speech is in English. The expression "Berliner Schnauze" (page 4), for example, can easily be misinterpreted as a reference to brash, big-mouthed Berliners. It might be replaced with the word "Mut" (courage). The German sentence on page 12 is phonetically complex and will probably result in the speech ending on a down note. We favor including only one German phrase in the speech, namely "Es gibt nur ein Berlin" (para 1, page 2). This is a powerful, important statement and should also be rendered in English.
- The phrase "Ich hab noch einen Koffer in Berlin" (para 3, page 1) is awkward and will not be well received by a German audience. It should be deleted.
- The draft describes the Berlin Wall (para 2, page 2) dividing the entire continent. References to the Wall are confused with references to the heavily-fortified inner-German border. For clarity, we suggest language along the following lines:

"Behind me stands a wall that symbolizes the division of the continent of Europe. From the Baltic south this division cuts across Germany in one continuous gash of barbed wire fence and guard towers. In some places there may be no visible, obvious barrier and people tend to forget that which they cannot see. But the heavy fortifications and controls remain all the same -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state."

107
106
105
104
103
102
101
100
99
98
97
96
95
94
93
92
91
90
89
88
87
86
85
84
83
82
81
80
79
78
77
76
75
74
73
72
71
70
69
68
67
66
65
64
63
62
61
60
59
58
57
56
55
54
53
52
51
50
49
48
47
46
45
44
43
42
41
40
39
38
37
36
35
34
33
32
31
30
29
28
27
26
25
24
23
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0

CONFIDENTIAL
UNCLASSIFIEDCONFIDENTIAL

-2-

- For clarity we suggest that the last sentence of para 3 on page 2 read "Any man is a Berliner who is forced to look upon this scar."
- We have never heard the quote (para 4, page 2) attributed to President von Weizsaecker.
- The draft includes the phrase "As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand..." (para 4, page 2). We think this language conjures up strong imagery and might be enhanced as follows:

"As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall slashes through the heart of the city..."

- The draft quotes Khrushchev (para 4, page 4) and claims the Communist world is a failure. This will be judged by the Berliners as cold-war rhetoric that does not permit progress in East-West relations.
- The draft states that "the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research to find a way to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend..." (para 2, page 7). We suggest using the following language taken from the January 87 NSS:

"the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research to find a way to shift deterrence to a safer and more stable basis. We seek defenses that truly defend; systems, in short, ..."

- The draft states that "the United States is prepared to sponsor international meetings in Berlin and that it would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, of world conferences on human rights, arms control, or other issues or areas of international cooperation" (page 9). While such a general call is good, when we get down to details we encounter several problems:
 - o Use of the word "sponsor" will be interpreted as a promise to fund events. We suggest replacing the word "sponsor" with "support".
 - o Berlin status is a problem. In East and West Berlin there are no less than seven candidates (US, UK, France, FRG, Berlin Senat, USSR, GDR) who might claim to be the legitimate host for a meeting.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
UNCLASSIFIEDCONFIDENTIAL

-3-

- o Our support for the idea of human rights meetings must be limited to West Berlin only since US policy demands that human rights groups have access to the conference site -- something the GDR would hardly agree to if a meeting were held in East Berlin.
- o We are concerned that negotiations on arms control not be conducted in a city where the substance of the talks is likely to be upstaged or sidetracked by the process and logistics of the talks.
- The draft claims the US would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges (para 3, page 9). The word "sponsor" should be changed to "support".
- The draft asserts that "love" keeps the Berliners in Berlin (para 2, page 10). We suggest changing the last sentence of para 2 to read:

"In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is profound and abiding faith in the triumph of good over tyranny, and in belief in the spirit of a great city."
- The discussion of the sculpture atop the Brandenburg Gate (para 4, page 10) and of the cross on the television tower (para 2, page 11) are very provocative to the East Germans, with whom the Berliners have been avidly trying to build a friendly dialogue. These references may well not be welcomed by the Berliners.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
UNCLASSIFIED

I have spoken of Berlin in the past. Despite crisis, despite adversity, freedom and democracy have prevailed in the Western Sectors. I have also made specific proposals for bringing East and West together in Berlin. Now, let me say a few words about our vision for the future of this great city.

We see a bright and relevant future for Berlin as a forward looking city that shall continue to serve as a beacon of democracy, free enterprise and technological innovation. We see the city as a meeting place for East and West. Most of all we see Berlin as living example of what free man can accomplish. In the years ahead as in the past the people of Berlin can be sure that the United States is with them! Together we will build a better world for our children and grandchildren.

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL